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SHORT ACCOUNT

OF

DANEGELD:

WITH

SOME FURTHER PARTICULARS.

RELATING TO

Will. the Conqueror's SURVEY.

By Philip Carteret Webb.

By a Member of the Society of Antiquaries of London.

Signed P. C. W.

Read at a Meeting of the SOCIETY, 1 April, 1756; and
ordered to be printed.

L O N D O N,

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A

SHORT ACCOUNT

OF

DANEGELD, &c.

THE particular attention your Lordship and the Society were pleased to shew to the paper I had the honor to lay before you the 29th Nov. 1755, containing an account of some particulars relative to Domes-day book, hath encouraged me to prosecute my inquiries, and I flatter myself that what I have now further to offer on that subject will not be displeasing to the Society.

The learned Dean of Exeter, to whom this Society is under great obligations for his repeated antiquarian communications, in the paper he laid before the Society, the 22d Jan. 1756, concerning the Exeter MS. says, The common opinion is, that Danegeld was a tax of *one shilling* upon every hide of land in England, waft-land, as he supposed, excepted. In my former paper, p. 20. I transcribed a passage from Mr. Arthur Agard, which implied, that Danegeld was, in its original institution, a tax of six shillings on every hide of land. As I shall be always diffident of any opinion I may be thought to have adopted, that shall appear in the least degree different from that of a person much more conversant with things of this sort than myself, I thought it not improper to bring this matter to a closer examination. The result of this inquiry I have now the honor to lay before the Society, from which, I apprehend, it will appear that Mr. Gale, the learned Dean, and myself, were under a mistake as to this matter; and that Danegeld was *originally* neither *one* Shilling,

B

nor

A SHORT ACCOUNT

nor *six* Shillings, but a tax of two Shillings per Hide. The inseparable connection there is between the Domesday survey and Danegeld, will induce your Lordship and this learned Body to excuse the trouble I give you of this second paper; they will be of opinion the subject at least is worthy their consideration.

I.

1. DANEGELD, or, as it is called by the Saxons, *hepegelb*, *heregildum*, i. e. "tributum militare seu navale," began to be collected in the reign of king Ethelred about the year 991, as some writers suppose, ob pacandos Danos patriam infestantes, or, according to others, about the year 1012 or 1013, for the hiring Danish or other ships, soldiers, and mariners, to oppose the incursions of our foreign invaders. It was originally an annual tax of two shillings on every hide of arable land in the kingdom; and was in its nature a land-tax, and is the first stated tax of that kind mentioned in our historians. It was called Danegeld, as being originally agreed to be paid to the Danes, and, like many other things, continued to retain the name long after it became appropriated to uses intirely different. Mr. Tate in a list, inserted by Mr. Camden, in his *Britannia*, p. 226. and by Sir Henry Spelman, in his *Glossary*, p. 292. makes the number of hides of land in England amount to 243,600, consequently the gross produce of this tax at two shillings per hide, would at that rate amount to 243,600 l. a very great sum to be annually raised at that period. Edward the Confessor suspended the payment of this tax during part of his time. In the reign of Will. I. it was in one instance increased to *six shillings*, and in that of W. Rufus to *four shillings* for each hide. In the reign of Henry I. it was *three shillings*, and in the reign of king Stephen *two shillings* per hide. It continued to be collected as low as 21 Hen. II. and probably later.

2. There were two kinds of payments made in the reign of Ethelred to the Danes; the one *tributary* to purchase peace, and put a stop to their depredations; these could not be annual, being in their nature *ex re nata*, accidental and occasional, and were raised not by

OF DANEGELD.

any stated tax, but in the best manner the necessity and urgency of affairs would permit. — The other were *stipendiary*, or *subsidiary* payments, made annually, in consequence of treaties, whereby the Danes contracted to furnish the English with a fleet of ships of war, sometimes more, sometimes less, for the defence of the English coasts, for which the English agreed to pay them a stated annual subsidy. For the raising this, the tax called Danegelt, which was an annual land-tax, was first introduced.

3. Some of our earliest historians, for want of distinguishing these two different kinds of payment, place the original of the tax in question as early as the year 991, when the tributary payment to the Danes commenced; other writers have been of opinion this tax was originally collected not to furnish money to the Danes, but to defray the expence of guarding our coast against *their* invasions.

Sir Henry Spelman describes Danegeld to be, "Tributum Anglis indictum, aliàs ob *pacandos* Danos, aliàs ob *arcendos*." And a little lower, "Tributum annuum 48,000 librarum, ab omni populo erandum, Danegeldum proprie nuncupatum." Glossary, p. 161.

The author of the *Dialogus de Scaccario* hath the following chapter written expressly on the subject of this tax.

"XI. QUID DANEGILDUM, ET QUARE SIC DICTUM. Insula nostra suis contenta bonis peregrinis non eget. Hanc igitur merito dixere priores, *Divitiisque sinum, deliciisque larem*. Propter hæc innumeras ab exteris injurias passa est; quia scriptum est; *Firem preciosa signata sollicitant*. Circumjacentium enim insularum prædones, irruptione facta, maritima depopulantes, aurum, argentum, et quæque pretiosa tollebant. Verum cum rex et indigenæ bellicis apparatus instructi in suæ gentis defensionem instarent, illi fugas aggrediebanturæqueorææ. Inter hos itaque pene præcipua et semper prior ad nocendum erat bellicosa illa et populosa gens Dacorum; qui præter munera raptorum avaritiam acrius instabant, quia aliquid de antiquo jure in ejusdem regni dominatione vendicabant, sicut Britonum plenius narrat historia."

" Ad hos igitur arcendos a regibus Anglicis statutum est, ut de
 " singulis hidis regni, jure quodam perpetuo, *duo solidi* argentū sol-
 " verentur in usus virorum sortium, qui, perlustrantes et jugiter
 " excubantes maritima, impetum hostium reprimerent. Quia igitur
 " principaliter pro Danis institutus est hic reditus, Danegildum vel
 " Danegildus dicitur. Hic igitur annuā lege, sicut dictum est, sub
 " indigenis regibus solvebatur, usque ad tempora regis Willelmi
 " primi de gente et genere Normannorum. Ipso namque regnante,
 " tam Daci quam caeteri terrae marisque praedones hostiles co-
 " hibebant incursum, scientes verum esse quod scriptum est, *Cum*
 " *fortis armatus custodit atrium suum, in pace sunt ea quae possidet.*
 " Noverant autem etiam quod acerrimae virtutis homines impunitas
 " non ferunt injurias. Quum ergo diu solvisset terra sub ejusdem
 " regis imperio, noluit hoc ut annuum solvi, quod fuerat urgente
 " necessitate bellicae tempestatis exactum, nec tamen omnino propter
 " inopinatos casus dimitti. Raro igitur temporibus illius, vel suc-
 " cessorum ipsius, solutus est: hoc est, cum ab exteris gentibus bella
 " vel opiniones bellorum insurgebant. Verum, quocunque tempore
 " solvatur, ab ipso liberi sunt qui assident ad Scaccarium. Vicecomites
 " quoque ab hoc quieti sunt de dominiis suis, propter laboriosam
 " ejusdem census collectam."

X Mr. Selden in his *Mare Clausum*, lib. ii. hath given us a chapter
 express on the subject of Danegeld, from which I have transcribed
 such parts as contain his opinion concerning it.

" Tributum, seu stipendium Danegeldum dictum, ad rem navalem
 " et territorio marino tuendo quotannis pendebatur. — Originem
 " habuit tributum hoc sub Ethelredo rege. Scilicet is a Swano
 " Danorum rege miseris tandem redactus in angustias, pace ab eo
 " empta, etiam ex foedere conduxit puppes Danorum 45, quae
 " regnum suum in mari excubando tutarentur, stipendia, quae ex
 " tributo hoc conflarentur, in commectus annuatim accepturae. Quod
 " ut ritè intelligatur, advertendum est ex Historia Anglo-saxonica,
 " tributum seu censum Danis persolvi sub id tempus solitum non
 " unius fuisse generis. Aliud erat tributum seu pecuniae vis, quā
 " pacem

"pacem interdum Anglo-saxones ab illis insulam graviter infestantibus
 "redimebant: aliud vero, quod classi Danicae, ad tutandum mare
 "orasque defendendas maritimas conductae, ut stipendium praesta-
 "batur. — Neque quotannis pendi solebat hoc genus primum, sed
 "pro re nata subinde praestitum est. — Quod vero secundi generis
 "erat classi Danicae, ut dictum est, conductae solvendum, id an-
 "num fuit. Nec certa pecuniae quantitate finiebatur, sed quanta
 "classiariorum victui et vestitui sufficeret. — Utrumque autem
 "praestationis, quam diximus, genus, Danegeld, Danegeldum seu
 "Danageldum, id est, tributum Danicum, dicebatur. — Secundum
 "vero, quod pro classiariorum commeatu solum est, itidem eadem
 "voce indigitabatur, tum quia ex foedere Danico natum, tum quia
 "Danicae classi marino territorio tuendo conductae pendi solitum.
 "Unde et idem retinuit nomen tam sub ipsis regibus Danicis, veluti
 "Canuto, Haroldo I. Hardecanuto, quam sub Anglo-saxonibus seu
 "Anglicanis. — Apud Matthaeos Westmonasteriensem et Parisien-
 "sem annua stipendii hujus Danici pensio triginta octo millibus
 "librarum aestimatur. Quod sane temere nimis ab eis scriptum est.
 "Nec melius illi, quibus triginta millibus librarum taxatur illa
 "pensio, velut Chronici Melroensis auctori. Nam qualicunque census
 "ratione, pro temporum varietate, tributum ipsum regi penderetur,
 "certissimum videtur stipendia classi Danicae praebere solita adeo
 "incerta fuisse, ut nunc ampliora multo, nunc angustiora, pro
 "navium et classiariorum numero tutelae marinae idoneo (quod nec
 "aliter evenire potuisse credendum est) praestarentur." Selden.
 Opera, vol. iv. p. 1317. to 1322.

4. In order to determine which of the abovementioned opinions ought
 to be adopted, it will be necessary to compare the different accounts our
 historians have given of this matter with each other. For this purpose
 I have transcribed such of them as appeared to me to be material,
 in the author's own words, and as near as could be in a regular order
 of time: by this means the Society will have the whole before them
 in one view.

II. Hunt.

H. Hunt. Hist. lib. v. p. 205. a. "Edelredi regis annó decimo tertio (A. D. 991.) primum statuerunt Angli, concilio infausto Siricii archiepiscopi, quod ipsi censum Danis persolverent, quatenus a rapinis et caede cessarent, et dederunt eis decem mille libras. Hoc autem malum usque in hodiernum diem [tempore regis Stephani] duravit, et diu, nisi Dei pietas subveniat, durabit. Regibus namque nostris modo persolvimus ex consuetudine, quod Danis persolvebatur ex ineffabili terrore."

Florent. Wigorn. p. 609. A^o. 991. "Quo insuper anno Sirici Dorobernenfis archiepiscopi, et ducum Aethelwardi et Alfrii consilio Danis tributum, quod erat 10 millium librarum, *primitus* datum est, ut a crebris rapinis cremationibus et hominum occisionibus, quas circa ripas maris frequenter agebant, desisterent, pacemque firmam cum eis tenerent." — Simeon Dunelmensis, p. 196. Matth. Westm. p. 169. And Roger Hoveden, p. 245. b. say the same, in almost the same words.

Chronicon. Saxon. p. 126. "Anno 991. hoc anno decretum est primum jam ut solveretur tributum Danicis viris propter magnos horrores quos incusserunt incolis maritimis. inprimis nempe x millia librarum. Illud concilium constituit Siricus archiepiscopus."

Chronicon Jöhanis Brompton, abbatis Jorنالensis (a). "Anno Ethelredi regis xiii. — Angli infausto concilio Sirici Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, ut Daci a rapinis et caedibus cessarent, censum primum eis solvere statuerant. Quibus x millibus librarum *primo* pro tributo datis, hoc malum usque in *hodiernum diem* in Anglia, et diu, nisi Dei pietas subveniat, durabit. Nam regibus nostris *modo* (b) consuetudine solvimus quod Danis tunc ex terrore ineffabili solvebatur. Secundo vero solvebatur eis tributum 16 millium libra-

(a) Decem Scriptores, p. 879.

(b) From hence it appears, this part, at least, of this chronicle was wrote while Danegeld was a subsisting tax, and therefore much earlier than the reign of Ed. ward III. as low as which Mr. Selden, in his preface to the Decem Scriptores, hath shewn a part of it which answers to the year 1069 was wrote; others suppose the author wrote about the year 1198. Vide Tanner de Scriptoribus Angl.

"rum;

"rum; *tertio* 24 millium librarum; *quarto* 30 millium librarum;
 " *quinto* 40 millium librarum, donec tandem pecunia deficiente iterum
 " tenderent ad rapinas."

Ra. Higden, in his *Polychronicon* (c), mentions a third payment of 20,000 l. omitted by Brompton, and both these authors state these payments, which, according to Higden, amount to 140,000 l. as being paid the same year.

Ra. de Knighton de *Eventibus Angliæ* (d), agrees with Higden as to the number and quantity of the payments, and adds they were made annually; but with respect to the time when the five last payments were made, these writers are all mistaken.

Knyghton's words are; "Interea, Dunstano mortuo, Dani venerunt in Angliam quasi in quolibet portu Angliæ; unde nesciebatur qua parte illis occurrerent; unde consilio Sirici archiepiscopi successoris Dunstani tributum *annuum* solvunt. *Primo anno* x. mil. libr. " *Secundo anno* xvi mil. *Tertio anno* xx mil. *Quarto anno* xxiv mil. *Quinto anno* xxx mil. tandem xl mil. donec pecunia deficiebat in Anglia. Et tunc redierunt iterum ad rapinas."

It appears by the Saxon chronicle, and other historians, that the first tribute of 10,000 l. was paid A°. 991. — The second of 16,000 l. A°. 993, or 994. — The fourth of 24,000 l. A°. 1001. — The fifth of 30,000 l. A°. 1007.

5. The Danes renewing their ravages, Ethelred determined to levy a large fleet and army to oppose them. This he did by an occasional land-tax, then introduced for the first time; every three hundred and ten hides of land being taxed with providing a ship, and every eight hides with finding a soldier, armed with a head-piece and breast-plate. But these preparations, like all the former of this weak and unfortunate prince, proving unsuccessful, he was reduced A°. 1011. to sue for peace; and accordingly by a treaty concluded A°. 1012. between him and the Danes, in consideration of 8000 l. as the Saxon

(c) Gale's *Scriptores Angl.* vol. iii. p. 270.

(d) *Decem Scriptores*, vol. ii. p. 2315.

Chronicle, and Henry of Huntingdon, say, or rather, as most other authors mention, of 48,000 l. paid them by the English, the Danes agreed to put an end to the war, and to furnish Ethelred with forty five ships of war, for the future protection of his kingdom from foreign invasions, which were to be paid and maintained by the English.

"Anno millesimo septimo, rex Anglorum Egelredus, primatum suorum consilio nuncios ad Danos legans, iis mandavit, quod sumptus et tributum eo tenore illis dare vellet, ut à rapinis desisterent, et pacem cum eo firmam tenerent; cuius postulationi consenserunt, et *ex eo tempore* de tota Anglia sumptus illis dabatur, et tributum, quod erat 36,000 librarum, illis persolvebatur." Hoveden, p. 246. b.

Saxon Chronicle, p. 142. A°. 1012. "Quum primum tributum esset persolutum, et pax juramenti firmata, dispersus est late exercitus. Tum subditæ sunt regi de classe [Dacorum] xlv naves, quæ ei pollicitæ sunt se hanc terram defensuros, *modo is illis victum et vestitum subministraret.*"

Hen. Huntingdoniensis (e), A°. 1012. "Tunc vero rex nimis fero pacem fecit cum Dacorum exercitu, dans eis 8000 librarum. — Subdiderunt autem se regi 45 puppes Danorum, promittentes quod Angliam tuerentur, rex vero inveniret eis victum et vestitum."

Hoveden (f), Anno 1012. "Perfidus dux Edricus Streona et omnes Angliæ primates ante Pascha Lundoniæ congregati sunt, et ibi tam diu morati sunt quousque tributum Danis promissum, quod erat 48 mille librarum, persolveretur. — Post hæc tributo soluto, pace juramenti firmata, Danica classis, ut prius erat congregata, longe lateque dispergitur; sed cum rege quadraginta quinque naves remansere *eique fidelitatem juravere*, et adversus externos Angliam se defensuros, eo tenore promiserunt, ut eis victum regimenque præberet."

6. What the expence of maintaining this fleet amounted to is not mentioned by any of these writers. The Saxon Chronicle, A°. 1040.

(e) P. 207. a.

(f) Hoveden, p. 247. b. 248. a.

p. 156. takes notice that 11,048 l. was paid that year for 32 ships. At that rate the expence of 45 ships would amount to about 15,500 l. For want therefore of more exact information, we may reasonably suppose that a sum of upwards of 15,000 l. was by this treaty become a stated charge on the kingdom, necessary to be annually provided for.

Ingulfus, Brompton, the Chronicon of Peterborough, and other authors affirm, the payment of Danegeld, as a stated tax, began in the year 1012 or 1013; probably in the treaty between Ethelred and the Danes, in imitation of what had been done by Ethelred A°. 1008, it was stipulated that the expence of these ships should be raised by an annual tax on land.

In 1013, Ethelred retired to Normandy, and whether in the *first* instance this tax was collected by his authority, or by that of his successor Swane, who was this year acknowledged by all the people, *tanquam verum regem*, is uncertain; Henry Huntindoniensis, p. 207. A°. 1013. "Swanus rex Dacorum venit — et ab omni populo habebatur pro rege, *jussitque dari per Angliam victum et censum exercitui suo.*"

Hoveden, p. 248. a. A°. 1013. "Mense Julio rex Danorum "Swanus cum valida classe ad Sandicum portum est appulsus — "qui ad suam classem reversus, ab omni populo Anglorum rex "appellabatur et habebatur. *Quod cum vidisset rex Ethelredus — "Normanniam devehitur, et a Ricardo comite honorifice suscipitur. "Interea Swanus tyrannus, suae classae sumptus affluenter parari et "tributum fere importabile solvi praecepit."*

7. A°. 1014. Swane died, and the Danish fleet elected Canutus king in his room; the English thereupon recalled Ethelred, who died in 1016. and was succeeded by Edmund, who, after several victories over the Danes, was the same year totally defeated by them, with the loss of most of the English nobility, and reduced to agree to pay tribute to the Danes; soon after which he died; and upon his death A°. 1017. Canutus the Dane, became king of England, and the next year the Danish army, after receiving a tribute of 72,000 l. or

as Henry of Huntingdon says, 82,000 l. from the kingdom in general, besides 10,000 l. or as others say, 10,500 l. from the city of London, returned to Denmark, leaving forty of their ships in English pay.

Canutus died in 1036, and was succeeded by Harold, who died in 1039. During these two reigns, which comprehend a space of above twenty two years, a fleet of Danish ships of war were constantly kept in English pay; eight marks being the hire or wages annually given to each rower, and twelve marks to each captain or master. — In 1039, upon the death of Harold, Hardacnute succeeded him, who kept this year sixty two Danish ships in English pay, at the before mentioned rate.

A°. 1040. There was paid 21,099 l. for tribute, and afterwards 11,048 l. for the pay of thirty two ships; this is the last payment made to the Danes. The proofs of what is here advanced are set forth in the next section.

8. Florent. Wigorn. p. 619. A°. 1018. "Hoc anno de tota Anglia
" 72 millia et de Lundonia 10,500 librarum exercitu Danorum sunt
" perfoluta, et cum rege Canuto 40 naves remanere, ceterae vero
" Denemerciam sunt revectae; Angli et Dani apud Oxenefordam de
" lege regis *Eadgari* tenenda concordēs sunt effecti.

Saxon Chronicle, p. 151. A°. 1018. "Hoc anno solutum fuit
" istud tributum per totam Angliam gentem, nempe LXXII, millia
" librarum; praeter id quod cives Lundenenses perfolverunt, nempe
" IX. millia librarum. — Deinde Danici exercitus pars reversa est
" ad Denemerciam, XL autem naves remanere cum rege Canuto.
" Dani etiam et Angli concordēs facti sunt apud Oxnafordam.

Matth. Westm. p. 207. "Anno gratiae 1022. Angli et Dani in
" colloquio apud Oxoniam celebrato, de legibus regis *Edvardi primi*
" tenendis concordēs effecti sunt; unde eisdem legibus, jubente rege
" Cnutone, ab Anglica lingua in Latinam translatis, tam in Dania
" quam in Anglia propter earum acquitatem a rege praefato observari
" jubentur."

Henry

Henry Huntington. p. 208. b. "Cnut rex Anglorum fecit per
"Aggliam mirabilem censum reddi, scilicet LXXXII mille lib. præter
"undecies mille lib. quas Landonienses reddiderunt."

Saxon Chron. A°. 1309. p. 156. "Hoc anno deceffit Haroldus rex
"— ejusque diebus soluta sunt tributa XVI navibus, unicuique
"nempe remigi VIII marcae, prout factum est Canuti regis ætate—
"Hoc ipso item anno venit Hardecanutus ad Sandwicum, VII diebus
"ante mediam ætatem, et statim susceptus est tum ab Anglis tum
"Danis: verum ob id postea proceres ejus multa mala sunt passi.
"Tum decretum est ut solverentur LXII navium singulis remigibus
"VIII marcae."

Flor. Wigorn. p. 623. "Octo marcas unicuique suæ classis remigi,
"et duodecim unicuique gubernatori *de tota Anglia* præcepit rex
"[Hardecanutus] dependi, tributum videlicet tam grave, ut VIX aliquis
"id posset persolvere."

Saxon Chronicon, A°. 1040. p. 156. "Hoc anno fuit tributum
"militare [*þeþegeolb*] solutum, nempe XXI millia librarum et
"XCIX librae, et postea solutæ fuerunt XXXII navibus, XI millia
"librarum et XLVIII librae.

Mr. Selden, *Mare Clausum*, p. 1317. says this last sum of 11,048 l.
was paid for building 32 ships, "scilicet 32 navibus construendis, quod
"scribit Huntingdoniensis," which is a mistake; Henry of Hunting-
don's words are; "Anno secundo Hardecnut redditus est census
"exercitus Dacorum, scilicet 21,000 lib. et 89 lib. et postea fuit
"reddie 32 puppibus 11,000 lib. et 48 lib." p. 209. a.

9. A°. 1042. Hardicnute died, and was succeeded by Edward the
Confessor, who put a stop to all future payments from the English to
the Danes, as well tributary as stipendiary. He continued neverthe-
less to collect Danegeld from the subject until the year 1051, when,
as Ingulphus and other authors say, he absolutely repealed it. The
last time he collected it, was, ad navigium faciendum, as appears from
a writ of Will. I. which directs the boundaries and jurisdictions of
the bishop of Worcester and the abbot of Evesham, to be "sicut

C 2

"erant

"erant die qua *novissime* tempore regis Edwardi geldum acceptum
"fuit ad navigium faciendum." Heming Cartular. vol. i. p. 78.

"Rex Edwardus Anglos a gravi tributo, quod Danegeld dicebatur,
"trigesimo octavo anno ex quo pater suus Ethelredus primus id
"Danicis foldariis solvi mandarant, integre absolvit (g).

"Anno Domini 1051, Rex Edwardus Anglos a gravi tributo
"solvit, quod eis pater suus propter Danorum foldarios imposuerat (b).

"Anno Domini 1051, cum terra non daret solita fertilitate
"fructus suos, sed fame plurimos habitatores devoraret, in tantum
"ut bladorum caristia et panis inopia multa hominum millia
"morentur: misericordia motus super pauperes, piissimus rex
"Edwardus tributum gravissimum, quod Danigeld dicebatur, omni
"Angliae in perpetuum relaxavit (i)." The inducement for this
is curique and diverting. "Ferunt quidam regem sanctissimum,
"cum dictum Danigeld cubicularii sui collectum in regis cameram
"intulissent, et ad videndum tanti thesauri cumulum ipsum addux-
"issent, ad primum aspectum exhorruisse, protestantem se daemo-
"nem super acervum pecuniae saltantem, et nimio gaudio exultan-
"tem prospexisse. Unde pristinis possessoribus jussit statim reddere,
"et de tam fera exactione ne iota unum voluit retinere, quin in
"perpetuum remisit, anno scilicet xxxviii, ex quo, tempore regis
"Ethelredi patris sui, Swanus Rex Danorum suo exercitui illud solvi
"singulis annis *imperavit*."

Ailredus Abbas Rievallis, in his history of the life and miracles of
Edward the Confessor, makes no mention of this pretended apparition,
but gives the following account of the abolishing the tax in
question (k). "Tributum illud gravissimum quod tempore patris sui
"primo classi Danicae pendebatur, post modum vero *Fisco regio*
"annis *singulis* inferebatur, regia liberalitate remisit, et ab onere hoc
"importabile in perpetuum Angliam absolvit."

(g) Chronicon Petri Burgi, p. 42.

(h) Chronicon Johannis Brompton. p. 943.

(i) Ingulh. Script. Angl. vol. i. p. 65.

(k) Decem Scriptores, vol. i. p. 383.

Rad. de Diceto Abbreviationes Chronicorum, p. 457. A°. 1051.
 "Rex Edwardus absolvit Anglos a gravi vectigali tricesimo octavo
 "anno ex quo pater suus rex Egelredus primitus id Danicis solidariis
 "solvi mandavit." Hoveden, p. 253. a. says the same.

Chronicon Johannis Brompton. p. 943. "Anno Domini 1051.
 "Rex Edwardus Anglos a gravi tributo solvit, quod eis pater suus
 "propter Danorum solidarios imposuerat".

Florent. Wigorn. p. 626. "A°. 1051. Rex Edwardus absolvit
 "Anglos a gravi vectigali 38 anno ex quo pater suus rex Ethelredus
 "primitus id Danicis solidariis solvi mandarant."

Ranulph. Higden. Polychronicon, p. 278. A°. 1050. "Edwardus
 "rex absolvit Anglos a gravi tributo, quod pater suus Egelredus
 "Danicis solidariis solvi fecerat, et jam per. xl annos duraverat."
 Henr. de Knyghton, p. 233. uses the same words.

Matthew of Westminster, the Chronica of Mailros, and a few
 other historians, say, the subsidy or tribute, paid to the Danes for their
 ships, was a stated sum of 30,000 l. or 38,000 l. a year; but this is a
 mistake, probably not of the writers, but owing to the inaccuracy of
 the copyist or transcribers.

Chronica de Mailros (1), "Anno 1051. Rex Edwardus absolvit
 "Anglos a gravi vectigali, id est, xxx librarum et viii anno. ex
 "quo pater suus rex Egelredus primitus Danicis id solidariis solvi
 "mandaverat."

Math. Westm. p. 219. "Anno Gratiae 1051. Rex Edwardus &
 "vectigali gravissimo Anglos absolvit, quod patre vivente, Danicis
 "stipendiariis triginta octo millium librarum solvi consuevit."

An ancient MS. chronicle in my custody, which formerly be-
 longed to the priory of Hickling in Norfolk. "Anno 1051. Edwardus
 "rex absolvit Anglos a gravi tributo, id est xxxviii librarum xxxviii.
 "anno ex quo pater suus rex Ethelredus primitus Danicis id solidariis
 "solvi mandarant."

(1) Scriptores Angl. vol. i. p. 157.

Hoveden,

Hoveden, p. 246. b. says it was 36,000 l. a year.

An annual tax of near four shillings on each hide of land would have been necessary to pay 38,000 l. a year to the Danes, and there is no mention in history until long after this period of any tax of that sort.

10. These payments to the Danes could not avoid being extremely oppressive and grievous to the people; they were rendered more so by the manner in which they were collected. If a person did not pay the sum assessed within three days after the time appointed for paying it, the owner was liable to be turned out of his estate, and whoever would pay the tax for him put into the possession of it. This proved the source of great fraud and oppression, as will appear from the following extracts from the Liber Wigornienfis.

Heming. Cartular. vol. i. p. 248. " — Sicuti factum est temporibus Ethelredi, regis Anglorum, vastante et depopulante hanc patriam pagano rege Danorum, SWEIN nomine, cum maximum et fere importabile tributum tota Anglia reddere cogeretur. Ob hujus itaque tam gravis tributis exactionem, omnia fere ornamenta hujus ecclesie distracta sunt, tabulae altaris, argento et auro paratae, spoliatae sunt, textus exornati, calices confracti, cruces conflatae, ad ultimum etiam terrae et villulae pecuniis distractae sunt. Simili modo etiam actum est regnante Cnut, filio suo, et adhuc graviora vectigalia superaddita sunt temporibus regni filii Cnut, cujus nomen erat HARDECNUT, qui etiam totam istam provinciam hostile exercitu ferro et igne depopulavit."

Heming. Cartular. vol. i. p. 277. " Tempore quo Cnut rex Danorum, hac patria devicta, vectigal importabile toti Anglorum regno imposuerat, ablatae sunt diversae villulae in Uareuuicscire a monasterii possessione, vi et fraude malignorum Danorum, quorum potentia eo tempore terror erat indigenis hujus patriae. Constituerunt enim, ut, siquid vectigalis ad illiusmodi constitutionem diei deesset, quisquis prius pecuniam pro ea solveret, ejus possessioni subiaceret. Hac calliditate inventa, quisquis aliquam terram de monasterio concupierat, pecunia data vicecomiti, vectigali refugato etiam satis tempestivo, quod male concupierat, pro libitu injuste rapiebat."

11. The

11. The 12th, or in some editions the 11th, of the laws commonly ascribed to the Confessor, which in another place I have proved to be of a more modern date (*m*), gives this account of Danegeld.

"DE DANEGELDO. Danegeldi redditio propter pyratas primitus statuta est. Patriam enim insectantes vastationi ejus pro posse suo insisterant. Ad eorum quidem insolentiam reprimendam statutum est, Danegeldum annuatim reddi, scilicet 12 denarios ex unaquaque hida totius patriae, ad conducendos eos qui piratarum irruptioni resistendo obviarent. De hoc quoque Danegeldo libera et quieti erat omnis ecclesia, et etiam omnis terra, quae in proprio dominio ecclesiae erat, ubicunque jacebat, nihil prorsus in tali redditione perfolvens, quia magis in ecclesiae confidebant orationibus quam in armorum defensionibus. Et hanc libertatem tenuit Anglorum ecclesia usque ad tempora Willielmi regis junioris, qui de baronibus totius Angliae auxilium petiit ad Normanniam retinendam de fratre suo Roberto, Normannorum comite, Jerusalem proficiscente. Concessum est ei, non lege statutum neque firmatum, sed habuit necessitatis causam ex unaquaque hida 4 solidos, ecclesia non excepta; quorum dum fieret collectio, proclamabat sancta ecclesia, libertatem suam reposcens, sed nihil profecit (*n*)"

The passage before cited of Ingulphus, who was a cotemporary author, and in whose copy of the Confessor's laws, as confirmed by the Conqueror, this law is not inserted, furnishes an additional argument, if any arguments are wanting, against the authority and genuineness of the law relating to Danegeld. If Edward the Confessor had for ever abolished Danegeld, it could not have been certified to W. the Conqueror, as a tax subsisting by virtue of a law of that king. The truth is, that this law, attributed to the Confessor, was, as I have observed on another occasion, an interpolation made as late as the time of Hen. II. and is therefore of no authority with regard to the present inquiry.

(*m*) Question concerning the Jews, p. 32, 33.

(*n*) Leges Edwardi. Wilkins, p. 198.

12. It is probable Will. I. collected Danegeld in the second year of his reign. Simeon of Durham, Knyghton, Brompton, and many other of our historians agree, that, upon his return from Normandy, in the year 1067, he levied an insupportable tax upon the people, "*Importabile tributum Anglis indixit.*" How often he collected Danegeld after this period does not appear, except that A°. 1084, or 1086, he encreased it to six shillings per hide, which was three times more than it appears to have ever been assessed at before.

"Anno regis Willielmi xviii (A°. 1084) idem Rex de qualibet "*hida terrae in Anglia sex solidos habuit et accepit.*" — Chron. Joh. de Brompton. p. 2351. Hen. de Knyghton, p. 2352.

Matthew Paris says it was collected A°. 1083, after the survey was made: — "Deinde [that is after the making the survey] de unoquoque aratro, id est, hyda terrae, totius regni sex solidos cepit "*argenti.*" Edit. Watts, p. 9.

Matthew of Westminster, p. 229. says the same, and treats it as a larger tax than usual. — "Deinde senior factus avarior, et de "*rege tyrannus, de unoquoque aratro, id est, hyda terrae, totius regni sex solidos extorsit truculenter.*"

The Saxon Chronicle places the collecting this tax in the same year 1083. p. 185. "*Hoc etiam ipso anno [1083.] post Natales, rex permisit exigi magnum tributum ac grave per totam Anglorum, terram, id est, pro unaquaque hida duos et septuaginta denarios.*"

In the *Inquisitio Geldi* for the five Western counties in the Exeter MS. Danegeld, is throughout computed at six shillings per hyde, and wherever it differs, it is only in small fractions, owing to the mistakes of the writer or copier, which, by the manner in which they at that time expressed their sums and quantities, they were very liable to.

In Wiltshire, in the hundred of Mere (Exeter MS. p. 288.) the Danegeld for 51 hydes is 15l. 6s. $51 \times 6 = 306$ shillings.

In Somersetshire, p. 237. b. in the manor of Torlberg, three hides paid the king 18s. for this tax, $6 \times 3 = 18$.

In Devonshire, p. 311. a. in Hertiland hundred seven hides paid 2l. 2s. and in Toritone 24 hides are rated at 7l. 4s.

In Dorsetshire, p. 297. a. in Henoltune hundred 14½ hides paid 4l. 7s. $14\frac{1}{2} \times 6 = 87$ shillings.

In Cornwall, p. 304. a. in Winnentone hundred six hides paid 1l. 16s. and in Fanurcone hundred, 304. b. 11½ hides paid 3l. 9s. $11\frac{1}{2} \times 6 = 69$ shillings.

13. In the following imperfect and unintelligible law of Hen. I. Danegeld is supposed to be in his reign 12 d. per hide.

“XV. DE DANEGELDO. Danegildum, quod aliquando ringe “manus dabatur. i. XII. denar. de unaque hida per annum: si ad “terminos non reddatur Wyta emendetur.” Unless you will suppose a mistake in the copy, and that it should be ii. XII. denar. twice 12 d. a method of expression not infrequent in ancient MSS. Thus in the Exeter MS. quater xx = 80.

The reading as it stands in the text is unsupported by any other authority I have been able to meet with, and is contradicted by what passed in the ninth year of the reign of Hen. I. (A°. 1114.) who, on marrying his daughter Maud to the emperor, collected Danegeld throughout the kingdom at the rate of *three* shillings per hide “Rex itaque cepit ab unaquaque hida Angliæ tres solidos.” Hen. Hunting. p. 379.

A MS. chronicle in Trinity College, Cantab. cited by Mr. Madox, History of the Exchequer, p. 475. says, A°. 1114. “A cel tens fu “done Danegeld par mi Engleterre.”

Hen. I. in his thirtieth year, “in redemptionem peccatorum suorum,” promised, “ut septem annis Danicum tributum relaxaret.” Rad. Higden, lib. vii. c. 17.

King Stephen, at his coronation, (A°. 1135.) faithfully promised. among other things, “quod Danegeldum, id est, *duos solidos* ad “hidam, quos Antecessores sui singulis annis accipiebant, in æternum “condonaret.” Roger of Wendover, Henry of Huntingdon, and

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the other authors, who mention this, say he did not keep his promise. In this they are supported by the Revenue Rolls of his reign.

Mr. Madox (*History of the Exchequer*, p. 475.) says, that, "in the great roll of the fifth year of king Stephen, Danegeld is accounted for in every county, as if it was a settled yearly revenue; that is, in the like words of form, which were then wont to be used in accounting for the settled yearly revenue. Thus the Danegeld for the first year (*viz.* the immediate year accounted for) was called barely Danegeld, or novum Danegeldum; the Danegeld for the next preceding year, praeteritum Danegeldum; the Danegeld for the third preceding year, vetus Danegeldum, etc.

Mr. Selden in his *Mare Clausum*, lib. ii. cap. xv. takes notice that it appeared by the Exchequer Rolls, that Danegeld had been paid in the reign of Hen. II. and Mr. Madox, by extracts from those rolls, hath since proved it was accounted for in the great rolls of the 2. 3. 4. 5. 7. 20. and 21. Hen. II. I shall transcribe the two last of those extracts.

"Osbertus de Brai, r c de xl marcis de misericordia quia prohibuit Danegeldum dari de dominiis. In thesauro liberavit et quietus est." Mag. Rot. 20. Hen. II. Rot. 9. a. Berckfira.

"Et Heliae ostiario i marcam ad portandas summonitiones de Danegeldo per Angliam per breve regis." Mag. Rot. 21. Hen. II. Rot. 3. a Londonia et Middlefexa. Hist. Excheq. p. 479. n. i. k.

Ralph Higden in his *Polychronicon*, p. 202. de legibus legumque vocabulis, gives this definition of Danegeld, "Danegeld, id est, Tailagium datum Danis, id est, iii^d. de qualibet bovata terrae."

Now as eight bovates were equal to a carucate, and as a carucate was generally understood to be the same as a hide, it follows that Danegeld was two shillings, or 24 pence = 8 x 3 per hide.

The foregoing authorities I apprehend clearly make out what I undertook to prove, that Danegeld was originally and in its institution a tax of two shillings on every hide.

Danegeld.

Danegeld, Heregeld, Hidegeld, Hidage, Carucage, were different names for the same tax anciently raised upon land; in its original it was called Danegeld, Heregeld; afterwards Hidegeld and Hidage; and last of all Carucage and Caruage.

Caruca, Carucata, Aratrum, and Hyda, were at that time considered as synonymous, and to express the same quantity of land.

"A^o. 1200. Rex Johannes mutuavit regi Francie xxx millia "marcarum, pro quibus collectum est *Caruagium* in Anglia, scil. iii s. "pro quolibet *Aratro*." Reg. prioratus de Dunstable, p. 47.

"A^o. 1221. Rex Henricus cepit de qualibet carucatu terrae, duos "solid." Chron. MS. prioratus de Hickling.

Sir H. Spelman, in his Glossary, p. 127. defines Carucage to be "Tributi genus, quod singulis Aratris *communi regni consilio* imponitur."

MS. Roffen. fol. 138. A^o. 1224. 8 Hen. III. "Hoc anno Domini "regi pro magnis laboribus suis et expensis tam a praelatis quam a laicis "concessum est per totam Angliam *Carucagium*, de qualibet scil. "Caruca duo solidi."

Mr. Madox, in his history of the Exchequer, p. 502. 503. hath transcribed several entries from the accompts in the revenue rolls of persons, who, in the 10, 14, and 19 Hen. III. accounted for the arrears of *Carucage*; he is of opinion it was a tax of so much for each carue of land, holden *by base or inferior tenure only*, in which possibly he is mistaken; he admits he found very little about it in the revenue rolls.

II.

By Terra, in Domesday book, and other records relative to this matter, is always understood arable land, in contradistinction to pasture, meadow, wood, etc. which, although described in the survey, their contents are not therein expressed in hides, but in acres, leucæ, quadragenarii, etc. which were not charged with this tax, or considered as part of the geldable or arable land.

Thus in the Exeter MS. produced by the Dean of Exeter to the Society, after mentioning the number of hides of arable land, and the amount of Danegeld paid for it, the Survey describes the rest of the lands after this manner :

“ iiii quadragenar’ nemoris in longitudine, et ii quadragenar’ in latitudine — xl agros prati et ii quadragenarias pascuæ.”

Cities and towns which had no arable lands, paid Danegeld in proportion to a certain number of hides. Thus Exeter paid quantum v hidæ terræ: Salisbury gelded for fifty hides, etc.

III.

Danegeld was not, as has been imagined, a partial tax on a part only of the arable lands of the kingdom, but was universal and extended over the whole.

Mr. Roger Gale, a late learned member, and great ornament of this Society, in the appendix to his Registrum honoris de Richmond, is of opinion that the Domesday survey, and consequently the account of the persons paying Danegeld, was confined to the lands *of such as held immediately of the king, and of the church.* — How he has made out a proposition, which he admits to be contrary to the uniform voice of almost every ancient writer, may probably be the subject of a future inquiry.

“ Observabimus primo quod clare constet, reclamante licet grege monachorum nostrorum, vel ex ipso Libro Censuali, omnes terras Angliæ in eo nequaquam fuisse descriptas. — *Infinita* pene villarum antiquarum nomina in ea omissa. — Quidni igitur ex eo hoc factum sit, quod *soli tenentes de rege*, et de ecclesia (quæ etiam de rege tenebat) eo in *Censu* describerentur, terræ autem quæ Anglis remanserunt, iis scilicet *qui non fuerunt in consilio et auxilio contra Willielmum regem*, nequitiam *ad Examen revocate sint?*” Mr. Gale concludes with saying — “ Contra opinionem *per secula stabilitam* imus, sed veritati litamur, librum ipsum et equos iudices appellamus.” Append. Regist. Honoris de Richmond, p. 227.

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The instances in the Conqueror's survey, which mention, that in some few estates the number of hides were not known, and that they never paid this tax, were probably owing to those lands not having been turned up into tillage until after the time of king Ethelred. But, in general, the number of hides belonging to the crown, the king and queen, and their tenants, were enumerated as well as those of the subject. The *Dialogus de Scaccario*, c. viii. p. 23. says, "Cognita summa, quae de comitatu requiritur, ab his qui in comitatu fundos habent, per hydas distribuitur."

The demesne lands, which belonged to the king and queen, and those in the hands of their immediate tenants and fermors, although assessed, did not pay this tax. The reason of which is obvious: it would be paying with one hand what they were to receive with the other.

The estates of many other persons were originally, or in a course of years, exempted from paying it. The *demesne lands* of churchmen and religious houses were excused from it in consequence, either of the eleemosinary grants by which they held their lands from the crown, which were usually granted — "libera ab omnibus secularibus servitiis et fiscali tributo, exceptis expeditione, arcis pontifice extruptione." — or "adeo libera in omnibus sicut rex habuit in sua propria manu." — or "adeo libera in omnibus sicut mea propria Dominica terra" — or "quieta de Geldis, Danegeldis et Hydagiis" — or the like (e); or they might be intitled to this exemption by virtue of some general grant antecedent to the commencement of this tax, such as the grant made A°. 694, by Withredus Rex Cantiae, and renewed afterwards in a great council by Ethelbalus Rex Merciorum, in the following words, — "Igitur ex hac die et deinceps concedimus et donamus, etc. ecclesiis regni nostri liberas esse perpetua libertate ab omnibus secularibus servitiis, ab omni debito vel pulsione regalium tributorum, ut possint pro nobis Deo omnipotenti hostias dignas offerre, nostraque peccata ablueri immaculatis muneribus (p)."

(e) Dugd. Monasticon, vol. i. p. 44. 196, etc.

(p) Thorne Chron. X. Scriptores, p. 2208.

It appears by the law relating to Danegeld, interpolated among those of Edward the Confessor, about the reign of Hen. II. that the Clergy then claimed their being exempt from this tax as an original right. This exemption only extended to *their demefne lands*, their other estates being charged with it.

Sir H. Spelman, in his *Codex Legum Veterum*, p. 304. hath inserted the following writ for exempting the bishop of Worcester from Danegeld.

“ Breve Regis Hen. I. de non faciendo Episcopum Wigorn.
“ geldare.

“ Henricus Rex Anglorum Waltero de Bello Campo et collectoribus
“ Werecestrescire, Salutem. Precipio vobis ne amodo faciatis
“ Episcopum Wigorniae geldare, etc. Teste. Ep. Sarum apud
“ Winton.”

This writ is imperfectly set forth by Sir H. Spelman; it is copied at large in Heming, *Cartular.* vol. i. p. 298. “ Henricus rex Anglie
“ Waltero de Bello Campo et coll. Wirecestrescire salutem. Precipio
“ vobis ne amodo faciatis episcopum Wigornie Geldare de terra sua
“ de Wirecestrescire nisi pro ccc et quater xx et vii hidis et dimidia,
“ T. episcopo Sar. apud Wintoniam.”

The demefne lands of the great lords and barons, and others, who held by military service, were in like manner exempted from the paying Danegeld.

The reason of this exemption seems to be, that it was unreasonable that those, whose persons were by tenure employed to serve in the wars, should be doubly charged by paying for their lands to the same service.

Hen. I. in his *Magna Charta*, c. 2. which, as to this point, was only a renewal of what appears to have been the law and practice in the time of Will. I. confirms this opinion. “ Militibus qui per
“ lonicas terras suas deserviunt, terras Dominicarum Carucarum suarum
“ quietas ab omnibus geldis et ab omni opere proprio dono
“ meo concedo, ut, sicut benignitas mea propensior est in eis, ita
“ mihi

"mibi fideles sunt; ut sicut tam magni gravamine allevati sunt, ita
 "equis et armis se bene instruant; ut apti et parati sint ad servitium
 "meum, et ad defensionem regni mei (g)."

In some instances lands were exempted from paying this tax by the king's particular order. "Habet abbas de Eovefham v hidas
 "apud Haurtun Geldentes et x sunt quiete de geldo per brevem
 "regis." Heming. Cartular. p. 315.

The barons of the Exchequer, sheriffs of counties, and the assessors and collectors of the tax, were also exempted from paying Danegeld for their demesne lands, or at least for a part thereof.

A few extracts from the Exeter MS. will further explain what is advanced in this section.

"Dorseta. In hundredo Etheminstre sunt xlvii hide et tantum
 "terrae habet ibi Sarisberienfis Ep's quantum possint arare vi car-
 "rucae. Inde habent barones in Dn'so vi hid. et i virgam et vi car.
 "Inde h't Ep's vi Car. et Rogerus Arundellus iii hid. et i virg. et
 "Bristuinus Prepositus iii hidas. Et de xl hidis i virg. minus, habet
 "Rex xii libras, xviii denarios, et i *ebol.* (r) minus. Et de dimidia hida
 "q tenet Urfo de Arnulfo de Hefdine. nunquam h'uit Rex. W.
 "Gildum. Et de dimidia hida q tenet Dedemanus de Comite de
 "Moritonio non h'uit Rex Gildum hoc anno. Sed xii solide prae-
 "scriptorum q' deberent esse redditu ad primum terminum non sunt
 "redditi usque ad postremum. Exeter MS. p. 294. a.

"In Somersetscira. In hundredo Cumgrefbie sunt xix hide.
 "Inde habet Rex de gildo suo xiii solidos et vi denarios pro ii hidis
 "et i virga. Et Rex et barones sui habent in suo dominicatu v
 "hidas et i virgam. De his habet Rex iii hidas et dimidiam in
 "dominio. Et Ordricus iii virgas et Ordulfus dimidiam hida. Et
 "Alunardus dimidia hida et pro xi hidis, quas tenent villani Regis
 "de Cumgrefbie, non habet Rex gildum. Et pro dimidia hida,
 "quam tenent villani de ecclesia Cumgrefbiensis, non habet Rex
 "gildum. Lxix solid. restant de hoc hundredo ad perfolvendum."
 p. 4. a.

(g) Wilkins, p. 234.

(r) The words et i *ebol.* should be rejected.

In the Inquisitio Geldi for Devenescira. "Et pro 1 hida q̄
 "clamant Fegadri se debere habere per consuetudinem non habuit
 "Rex gildum suum. In hundreto de Tantone — Et pro 1 hida
 "q̄ tenent et clamant Hundremanni per suam consuetudinem non
 "habuit Rex gildum suum." Exeter MS. 315. a. There are the
 like customary allowances of one hide to the Fegadri in most of the
 hundreds.

By means of these several exemptions the produce of this tax was
 in the time of the Conqueror greatly diminished.

In Somersetshire out of 113 hides of land in Witestane hundred,
 p. 1. a. Danegeld was answered to the crown for no more than 50
 hides. — Out of 104 hides in Camestham hundred, p. 1. b. for
 only 50 hides. — In Devonshire out of 25 hides in the hundred
 of Plintone, p. 316. a. it was paid only for 9 hides 1 virgate. —
 In Dorsetshire out of 34½ hides in Pimpire hundred, p. 299. a. it
 was answered only for 13 hides. — In Wiltshire out of 52 hides
 in Stapla hundred, p. 276. a. it was paid only for 14 hides and half
 a virgate. And in Cornwall out of 44 hides in Pantone hundred,
 Danegeld was answered for only 8 hides. p. 305. a.

The rectifying this abuse, and the additional hidage that might
 reasonably be expected from the improvements and increase of arable
 lands subsequent to the year 1013, were probably further reasons
 with William the Conqueror for making his survey.

IV.

Sir Henry Spelman, in his Glossary, p. 177. et 291. and in other
 places, says, "Mist autem rex Gulielmus, ut authori mihi sunt Annales
 "Waverlienses MS. A°. 1083. regni 16. *Quinque* justitios suos per
 "unamquamque Scyram, id est, provinciam, Angliæ, et inquirere fecit
 "per jusjurandum quot hidae, id est, jugera uni aratro sufficientia
 "per annum essent in unaquaque villa, etc."

In the Annals of Waverley, as published by Dr. Gale, in the
 Scriptores Angl. vol. ii. p. 133. the number of the justices or com-
 missioners is not inserted. It is probable however the commissioners

or

or justices, that superintended this service in each county, was not less than the number mentioned by Sir Henry Spelman.

The Liber Wigornienfis hath preserved the names of four of the persons, who acted as commissioners on this occasion in the county of Worcester, and some other counties; they were styled Barones Regis, and sometimes Principes Regis.

Hemingi Cartular. vol. i. p. 288. In treating of the hundred called Oswardes Lau, belonging to the bishop of Worcester, its customs and privileges adds, that the truth of the account there given, "Testimonium totius comitatus Wirecestre, dato sacramento juris — jurandi, firmavit — tempore regis Willielmi senioris, coram "principibus ejusdem regis, Remigio scilicet Lincolnienfi episcopo, et comite Waltero Giffardo, et Henrico de Fereris, et Adam fratre "Eudonis dapiferi regis, qui ad inquirendas et describendas possessiones "et consuetudines tam regis quam principum suorum, in hac provincia et in pluribus aliis, ab ipso rege destinati sunt, eo tempore quo Angliam idem rex describi fecit."

In the same book, p. 75. An agreement made between the bishop of Worcester, and the abbot of Evesham, is attested by "Remigio "episcopo et Henrico de Fereris, et Waltero Giffardo, et Adam, regis "principibus, qui venerant ad inquirendas terras comitatus.

V.

The jury, from whose inquiries Domesday-book was formed, were impanelled and sworn for each hundred separately. The extracting and classing the substance of their returns under the general heads of Terra Regis, and of this or that religious house, or great lord, or landholder, was a subsequent work, collected out of the Returns after they were transmitted.

Sir H. Spelman was of opinion that these Inquiries, or, as he calls them, Comitatum enarrationes, were all lost (r). I have nevertheless the satisfaction to inform the Society, that this is not

(r) Codex legum Veterum, p. 292.

so: and that, in searching for the Liber Eliensis, I have had the good fortune to discover in the Cotton Library, a MS. copy of the Inquisition of the jury, containing their survey for most of the hundreds in Cambridgeshire. This MS. is written on vellum in double columns, and on both sides of the page. It is bound up with the Liber Eliensis, mentioned by Mr. Selden, in his preface to Eadmerus, and begins at p. 76. a. and ends at p. 113. b. It is written in a very fair but ancient character, not coeval with the Survey, but of about the time of Hen. II. It was given by Mr. Arthur Agard to Sir Robert Cotton, and is marked, Tiberius A. vi. 4. Your Lordship and the Society will be of opinion this is a discovery of importance; and what had escaped the observation of Sir H. Spelman, Mr. Selden, and our other Antiquarians.

A part of this valuable morsel of antiquity is already transcribed, and, in a few weeks, I hope to be able to communicate the whole of it to the Society.

In the mean time, your Lordship will not be displeased with the following specimen, being a copy of this inquisition, so far as it relates to the manor of Wimple, the estate of an illustrious member of this Society, the present Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain.

" In hundreto de Werleia — Winepola pro quatuor hidis se
 " defendit tempore regis Edwardi et modo. Et de his quatuor hidis
 " tenet comes Alanus duas hidas et dimidiam et dimidiam virgam.
 " Tribus ē est ibi terra. Una ē et due hide in dominio, et dimidia ē
 " potest fieri; una ē et dimidia villanis. Duo villani, unus bordarius de
 " quindecim acris, sex cotarii pratum dimid. Car, duo servi, centum
 " oves. Inter totum valet septem libras, et quum recepit sex libras,
 " tempore Regis Edwardi, octo libras. Hanc terram tenuit Ediva
 " pulchra. Et de his quatuor hidis tenet Humfridus Danslevilla
 " de Eudone Dapifer unam hidam et unam virgam et dimidiam,
 " duabus carucis ibi est terra. Ambae carucae in dominio. Unus
 " villanus, unus servus pratum unius Car, silva ad sepes reficiendas,
 " centum oves, sex porci, duo runcini, quatuor asini; inter totum valet
 " centum

"centum solidos, et quā receptū centum solidos, tempore regis Edwardi, centum et decem solidos. Hanc terram tenuit Comes Gurd." Cotton MS. Tiberius A. vi. 4. p. 109. b. col. 2.

This passage from the Cotton MS. establishes a fact, in which Antiquarians have not been agreed, i. e. how many virges made a hide; since, if two hides and a half and half a virge, and one hide and a virge and a half were equal to four hides, as it appears by this inquisition they were, it follows, that two virges made half a hide, and consequently that four virges were, at the time of the Conqueror's survey, equal to a hide of arable land (1).

The new lights this and the Exeter MS. will throw upon Domesday-book, and upon each other, and the great use they will be of in ascertaining the precise and exact quantity of many of the ancient measures of land, hitherto esteemed incapable of being reduced to any degree of certainty, I shall reserve for a future paper I intend to have the honor to submit to the Society.

P. C. W.

Great Queen-street,
2 March, 1756.

(1) The like conclusion may be drawn from the Extracts, p. 23. from the Exeter MS.

A D D E N D A.

SECT. 3. p. 5. Holingshed, in his Chronicle, vol. i. p. 239. A°. 991. speaking of the first tribute of 10,000 l. paid to the Danes, says, " This money was called Danegylt, or Dane money, " and was levyed of the people. Although others take that to bee " Danegylte, whiche was gyuen unto suche Danes as king Egelred " afterwarde retheyned in his seruice to defende the lande from other " Danes and enymies that fought to inuade his dominions."

Dr. Brady, in his Treatise of Boroughs, appendix, page 8. describes Danegeld to be " a tax, or money paid, and imposed," and " levied for defence of the nation against the Danes, or rather an " annual tribute paid to them, that they might abstain from rapine, " burning, and slaughter." See also his history of England, fol. 123.

Mr. Echard, in his history of England, book i. c. iv. p. 99. A°. 1012. says, " It appears from the Saxon laws, that besides the payment of 48,000 l. it was *this year* resolved that a yearly payment " should be made called *Danegeld*, that is, twelve pence upon every " hide of land in the nation, for the subsistence of those who were " to hinder the irruptions of the Danes and other pirates; which tax " continued for about thirty eight years, till it was remitted by " Edward the Confessor. So that there was two sorts of *Danegeld*; " the former those five occasional sums formerly recited; the latter " that continued tax last mentioned. But both sorts alike contributed " to the ends for which they were paid."

The Saxon law alluded to by Mr. Echard, is the law De Danegeldo, mentioned page 15. to be interpolated in the time of Hen. II. among those ascribed to Edward the Confessor.

SECT. 5. p. 8. Among the Anglo-Saxon laws of Ethelred, published by Lambard in his Archaionomia, there is a treaty supposed to have

have been made by Ethelred with the Danish army commanded by Anlaf, Justin, and Guthmund, the three Danish generals who invaded England, A°. 991. The tribute of 22,000 l. agreed to be paid to the Danes by this treaty is not reconcilable to what passed at that period.

But if the treaty, printed by Mr. Lambard, be considered not as that made in 991. but as a renewal in 1012. of what Ethelred possibly promised in 991. but had not performed before 1012. it will account for the different commencements our historians give to the tax in question.

Several expressions in the treaty seem to countenance this opinion.

"Foedus, quod olim Ethelredus rex cum exercitu Anlavi, Justini, et Guthmundi Stegeti filii ex sapientum suorum consilio ferit.

"1. Imprimis, mundanae pacis foedus Ethelredo regi ac omni populo cum exercitu illo, cui pecuniam rex erogavit, stabile ratumque esto, ad formulam passionis a Sigericio archiepiscopo, Aethelwardo, et Aelfrico, senatoribus factae, cum primo impetrarunt a rege ut illi terrae portiunculae, quam sub eo gubernabant, pacem eis pretio conciliare liceret. Siquis igitur posthac navalis apparatus in Angliam praedam fecerit, hic nobis auxilium ferat exercitus, nosque ei (quamdiu in fide manserit) quae ad com meatum suppeditent parabimus omnia: atque si cum iis qui in Anglia fuerint praedati pacem fecerit, externa natio aliqua nobis atque exercitui cum ea inimicitiae intercedunto."

"8. — Datis quidem exercitui auri et argenti viginti duobus millibus pondo, pacem Angli impetrarunt."

The reference to the formula of the peace made by the archbishop, Aethelwald, and Aelfric [which was concluded A°. 991.] seems to imply that this treaty was made subsequent to that time. — The first article begins with a renewal of peace between the Danes and the English. — It speaks of the transaction [which happened in 991.] as a thing passed, the terms of which, Ethelred esteemed so very dishonourable, that he recites it not as a treaty he had entered into himself.

himself, but as a *licence* granted by him to the archbishop and the other two lords, to make peace with the Danes for protecting *their own particular estates*. — “Ad formulam pactionis a Sigericio archiepiscopo, Aethelwardo et Aelfrico facta, cum *primo* imperarunt a rege, ut illi terrae portiunculae, quam sub eo gubernabant, pacem eis pretio conciliare liceret.”

Ethelred, by the words of this part of the treaty, intended probably to have it understood, that Sigeric and his colleagues made the treaty of 991. except as to what concerned their *own* particular estates, *without his authority*: The next expression, — “quandiu in fide manserit,” — appears to allude to the Danes breach of treaties subsequent to the year 991.

The Latin translations of this treaty, in Brompton and Wilkins, differ materially in several particulars from each other, and from that published by Lambard. By comparing them together, and with the Saxon original, the Society will determine whether my conjectures are well founded or not.

Ðis sýnd ða fríð mal. 7 ða forþorð ðe Æþelred Lýng. 7 calle his witan wíð ðone hepe geþon habbaþ. ðe Anlaf. 7 Jǫtun. 7 Gufmund Stegetan sunu mid wæron:

1. Ðæt ænor. þ̅ populo fríð stambe betweoxe Æþelred Lýnung. 7 eallum his leodscipe. 7 eallum ðam hepe ðe se Lýng þ̅ weoh fealbe. æfter ðam formalan ðe Sigeric Apcelwiscop. 7 Æþelcean Ealdrman. 7 Ælfric Ealdrman forhton. Ða hi abædon æt þæm Lýnge þ̅ hý moston ðam læppan fríð gebycean. Ðe hi under Lýnges hand ofer hæfdon: 7 gif ænig sciphepe on Englalande hepgie. þ̅ we habban heora ealra wultum. 7 we him sculon mete ferdan. Ðahwile ðe hý mid us beoþ. And ælc ðæra landa ðe ænigne fríðge ðæra ðe Englaland hepgie. beo hit utlāh wíð us. 7 wíð ealne hepe:

8. — 7pa 7 twentig ðurend punða goldes. 7 weolcesmon gefealde ðam hepe of Englalande wíð fríðe: Wilkins, p. 104, 105.

Brompton's translation. "Haec sunt verba pacis et praedicationes, quas Ethelredus rex et omnes sapientes ejus *cum exercitu* firmaverunt, qui cum Analavo, et Justino, et Gudaermundo Stegiani filio venit.

"1. Hoc imprimis, ut pax mundi stet inter Ethelredum regem et omnem populum ejus, et omnem exercitum cui rex pecuniam suam dedit, post elocutiones quas Sigericus Archiepiscopus et Ethelredus Aldermannus, et Ealfricus Aldermannus fecerunt, postquam impetraverunt a rege quod possent illis portiunculae pacem emere quam sub manu regis semper habebant. Si navalis exercitus Angliam infestet, ut habeamus eorum omne auxilium, et ministrabimus eis victum quamdiu nobiscum erunt. Et omnis terra quae aliquem eorum manuteneat qui Angliam inquietant, sit exlex apud nos et omnem exercitum."

"8. — Viginti millia librarum auri et argenti data fuerunt exercitui *de Anglia* pro pace (a)."

Dr. Wilkins's translation. "Hoc est foedus et pactum, quod Aethelredus rex et Sapientes *cum exercitu illo* fecerunt, qui cum Analavo et Justino et Guthmundo Stegiani filio erant.

"1. Primum, ut mundana pax consistat inter Aethelredum regem et omnem ejus populum, et exercitum illum omnem cui rex pecuniam dedit post pactiones quas Sigericus archiepiscopus et Aethelweardus et Aelfricus senatores fecerunt, cum impetrarent a rege, ut possent pacem emere illi parti terrae, quam sub regis imperio gubernabant. Et si quis navalis exercitus Angliam infestaret, ut habeamus eorum omnium auxilium, et nos ei debeamus alimenta parare quamdiu nobiscum est. Et quaelibet regio, quae pacem aliquam feriat cum iis qui Angliam infestant, sit exlex apud nos et apud totum exercitum.

"8. — xxii millia librarum auri et argenti data sunt exercitui *Anglico* pro pace (b)."

(a) Brompton, inter Decem Scriptores, vol. i. p. 899.

(b) Wilkins Leges Angl. Saxon. p. 104.

Each of these three translations appear to be incorrect in many particulars.

Sect. 9. and 10. p. 14. Peter Langtoft, A°. 1013. p. 44. thus describes the distresses occasioned by this tax.

**Now comes Suane eft ageyn with Criste's mallon,
he lond led to tallage so mykelle on ilk a toun,
hat nother erle no baron of alle her heritage
Myght not lyue her on, to gif her tallage.**

And page 54.

**Hardeknot did charge he lond in suilk treuwage,
hat nother erle no barone myght lyue for tallage.**

Peter Langtoft, in his Chronicle, p. 57. says, this tax was abolished by Edward the Confessor, in consequence of a treaty made between him and the king of Denmark.

**Eft Suane, he Danes kyng, his lond did underfonge,
& eft untill Edward Suane lent ageyn,
& prayed him bituer ham he pes wer certeyn.
Edward him granted, opon suilk a wise,
hat neuer he Danglede for ne non of hise,
Suld be chalenged for man of Danes lond,
& Suane, kyng of Danmark, to hat conant him bond.
hus was he pes granted with skrite on bope sides,
& he Danes gilde forgyuen, hat neuer eft bitdres.**

Sect. 13. p. 19. Reg. prioratus de Dunstaple, p. 97. A°. 1220.
" Eodem anno mense Septembri positum est Caruagium per totum
" regnum ad opus domini regis. A quo archiepiscopi et episcopi, et
" omnes clerici, et omnes viri religiosi *et eorum rustici quieti fuerunt.*
" Verumtamen episcopi per suas dioceses collegerunt auxilium ad
" opus domini regis ab abbatibus et prioribus, per liberam voluntatem
" eorum: et tunc domus de Dunstaple solvit tres marcas."

Eodem anno [1224.] p. 145. " Rex obsedit Bedfordiam, in cujus
" auxilium venit Cantuariensis archiepiscopus cum episcopis et abbatibus
" bus

"bus suffraganeis: et insuper concesserunt ei caruagium, scilicet
"dimidiam marcā de singulis carucis dominicis, et duos solidos de
"singulis carucis tenentium suorum; et duos operarios de singulis
"hydis ad machinas exercendas. Sed, ne hoc traheretur alias in
"servitutem, dominus rex fecit eis cartas de futuri temporis immu-
"nitate." Vide Rot. Pat. 8 Hen. III. Auxilium regi concessum per
clerum Anglie contra Fulk de Breaunt inimicum suum, qui Castrum
de Bedford contra regem muniri fecit. m. 3.



ERRATA and ADDENDA.

PAGE 1. the last line but 3. dele *Gale*, and insert *Agard*.

1. Mr. Arthur Agard, from an entry in the book of Dunstaple (*a*), supposes the number of hides to be much less, than what Mr. Tate, Sir Henry Spelman, and Mr. Camden mention. The numbers in the book of Dunstaple are not to be relied upon. To mention one only of many reasons that occur in support of that opinion, they state the number of hides in the whole division of *Danelaga*, which comprehends eighteen of the 32 shires, to be only 3200, which must be greatly too low. The author, however, thought it unnecessary to enter further, than he had done, into that subject at present; as from the perusal of the Domesday record, the exact number of hides may with precision be ascertained.

2. An additional evidence that the *first* payments to the Danes were only *occasional*, and not *annual*, or raised by the annual land-tax properly called Danegeld on the subject, may be collected from a charter of Ethelred to the abbey of St. Alban's, dated A°. 1006. printed in the additions to Matth. Paris, p. 242. which mentions that Ethelred borrowed 200l. of abbot Leofric, on a mortgage of lands towards raising money to pay the Danes [“ Quando illud grave “ vectigal Danis exsolvebamus.”] Ingulphus, p. 55. and other writers have passages of the like tendency.

3. Mr. Prynn, and Mr. Lambard, have adopted the mistake, that these first payments were *stated* and *annual*.

Mr. Prynn, in his Vindication, Vol. i. p. 292. says, “ Ethelred “ purchased his peace with the Danes, by an *annual* tribute of “ Danegeld, augmented by degrees, from 10,000 to 48,000 l. a “ year, and that by the ill counsel of Siricus.”

(*a*) Hearne's Collection of Curious Discourses, p. 72. and Append. Regist. Honoris de Richmond, p. 9.

It appears from Steph. Birchington's list of the archbishops of Canterbury, published in Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, Vol. i. p. 4. that Siricus, from this transaction, obtained the surname of *Danegeld*.

Mr. Lambard, in his *Perambulation of Kent*, p. 135., varies in the account, but as to this point is as much mistaken as Mr. Prynne. He says, "Ethelred charged his people with importable tributes; that he first gave the Danes, at five several payes, 113,000 l. and afterwards promised them 48,000 l. yearly." And p. 431. he says, "The Danes received, besides daily victual, 48,000 l. in ready coin, of the subjects of this realm, while their king Swein lived; and 21,000 l. after his death, under his son Canutus."

4. Leland, in his *Collectanea*, Vol. i. hath two passages which have conduced to propagate this mistake, p. 260. — "Siricus archiepiscopus Cantuar. qui Dunstano successit, auctor fuit ut vestigal *annuum* decem mil. librarum Danis penderetur."

P. 11. — "Tributum, quod Angli Danis *annuum* dabant, auctum ad septuaginta duo millia librarum, et eo amplius, *per annum* (b), et sine hoc quod de Londonia dabatur, undecim millia librarum. Tunc qui habuerunt ad tantum tributum solvendum, dabant. Qui non habuerunt, terras et possessiones et alias res irrecuperabiliter perdiderunt. Unde factum est ut Ecclesia de Burch, et aliae multae, multa perdiderint."

Page 29. of the Addenda, dele the word *Anlaf*, and the word *three*.

5. The *title* of the treaty, mentioned in the Addenda, p. 29. appears to be mistaken, and affords a further objection against the treaty itself. The army of Danes that made the descent in 991. when this treaty is supposed to be concluded, by the advice of Siricus, Ethelward, and Alfrie, was commanded by Justin and Guthmund, two Danish generals; and not by *Anlaf*, who was king of Norway. *Anlaf's* descent was not till A°. 993. and 994. as the

(b) Vide Hugonis Candidi Coenobii Burgensis Historia, p. 41. from whence Leland transcribed this passage.

Saxon Chronicle, and all our historians agree. This fact is not reconcileable with the treaty, which is supposed to be made with an army commanded jointly by Anlaf, Justin, and Guthmund.

6. The Saxon Chronicle is mistaken with respect to this period "A°. 991. p. 126. (without naming Justin or Guthmund, or saying "who commanded the Danish army) hoc anno devastabatur Gippwic, et brevi postea fuit Brihtnothus dux interfectus apud Maeldunc." — A°. 993. p. 127. "Hoc anno venit Unlafus cum xciiii navibus ad Stane — inde ad Maeldunc, ubi adversum eos venit Byrthnothus dux cum suis copiis, cumque iis depugnabat; verum duccem istum ibi interfecerunt, et loco stragis dominati sunt, paxque cum iis facta est, ac eum postea rex in consecratione suscepit, etc."

It is not pretended that there were two battles fought at Maeldunc, one in 991. the other in 993. or that the Brihtnothus mentioned A°. 991. and the Byrthnothus mentioned A°. 993. are not the same person. It appears, therefore, difficult to account how a person killed in 991. could fight and be killed again in 993.

9. Alured of Beverley, in his Annals, describes the unhappy situation England was in during the reign of king Ethelred in the following words:

"Quo regnante [Agelredo] totius Angliae status quam variabilis tam miserabilis extitit. Siquidem Dani, Norwegenses, atque aliae exterae nationes, qui à tempore gloriosi regis Adelstani, usque ad tempus istius Agelredi per annos circiter l. ab Anglia abstinerant, regnante eo reversi, totam fere Angliam in desolationem adduxerunt. Adversus quos quociens rex Agelredus dimicaturus erat, tocies Angli aut ducum suorum, qui ex paterno genere Dani erant, dolis circumventi, aut aliquo infortunio impediti, hostibus victoriam dederunt. Unde rex Agelredus quos ferro nequibat, eos argento repellere temptavit. Consilio enim Sirici Doroborensis archiepiscopi, et ducum Angliae, ut à rapinis, cremacionibus, et hominum caedibus abstinerent, rex Agelredus cum Danis tributa reddendo, *foedera pacis* iniit. Sed ipsi Danica perfidia pejora prioribus addentes, *condiciones* "*pacis*"

" *pacis* semper prævaricati sunt. Primo tributum x millium librarum
 " perfolutum est. Secundo xvi millium librarum. iiii. xxiiii mil-
 " lium librarum. iiii. xxxvi millium librarum. quinto xlviii mil-
 " lium librarum. Summa centum xxxiiii millium librarum. Et
 " cum tanta pecunia esset perfoluta, Dani aliquantisper quiescentes
 " stimulante avaricia rursus ad regni vastacionem reversi sunt. Jam
 " vero per omnes provincias agris vastatis, villis prædatis, civitatibus
 " crematis, ecclesiis spoliatis, clericorum et monachorum aliis ferro
 " jugulatis, aliis flammis consumptis, aliis de muris præcipitatis, aliis
 " suspensis, matronis cruribus per plateas distractis, et demum ignibus
 " injectis parvulis à matrum uberibus avulsis, aut lanceis exceptis, aut
 " superacto carro minutatim contritis, Sancto etiam Alfego archiepif-
 " copo martirizato, et monachis suis cum populo decimatim occisis,
 " quorum summa fuit iiii *monachi* (c) et octingenti viri, ad ultimum
 " tota fere Anglia præter Lundonias, ubi rex Agelredus morabatur,
 " Danorum regi Suano manus dedit. Ipsi vero Lundonienfes obfides
 " illi mittentes pacem cum eo fecerunt. Quod cernens rex Ageldredus
 " reginam Emmam, filiam ducis Normannorum Ricardi primi, ad
 " fratrem suum secundum Ricardum comitem Normannorum misit,
 " et cum ea filios suos Edwardum et Alueredum cum magistro illorum
 " Lundoniensi episcopo Alwino, et Eliso abbate de Burch misit.
 " Ipse etiam eos secutus Normanniam advexitur." Aluredi Beverla-
 " cens Annal. lib. viii. p. 114.

(c) *Lege Mill.*



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